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ABSTRACT

A number of educational changes and problems in Europe and North America are covered in this six-chapter report. The introduction profiles present trends in all countries, including declining birth rates, economic stagnation, decreased enthusiasm for educational research and development, and more active community involvement in schooling. It notes that the two major changes have been the acceptance of many educational innovations of the 1960s and the politicization of educational issues. Each subsequent chapter handles a different area of education. Chapter 2 discusses compulsory, or universal, education as it relates to the de-schooling debate, deteriorating student achievement, and alternative structures for junior secondary schools. The problems of special populations, particularly of the handicapped and of migrant workers' children, are described in chapter 3. Chapter 4 outlines the conflict in secondary education over the preparation of students for jobs or higher education, while chapter 5 surveys various countries' efforts to handle youth unemployment. The final chapter reviews the status of lifelong learning in several nations. (RW)

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EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA SINCE 1960.

By

Denis KALLEN with Sarah COLTON

For the

Division of Educational Policy and Planning
Unesco, Paris

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FOREWORD

Unesco's General Conference at its 19th session (Nairobi, Kenya, 1976) resolved that the Secretariat give particular attention to "gathering and disseminating information about new educational policies for the renewal of educational systems, adapted to specific needs on the basis of particular social, economic and cultural situations and aimed at promoting democratization of the systems within the framework of life-long education" (Programme Resolution 1.111).

In line with this mandate the Division of Educational Policy and Planning began in 1977 reproducing selected technical papers and distributing them as a series under the general title: "Reports, Studies ...". The aim of this series is to stimulate reflection and discussion on current issues confronting educational policy-makers, planners, administrators and school architects. Distribution is limited to Unesco officials at Headquarters and in the field, as well as interested technical personnel in governmental and private institutions. It is hoped that this series will promote and serve as a vehicle for increasing communication between individuals and institutions concerned with policy and planning aspects of education.

The "Reports, Studies ..." series consists of two sub-series :
(i) papers with a subject orientation (numbered S.1, S.2, etc.) and
(ii) papers focusing on a given country (numbered C.1, C.2, etc.).
Subject papers deal with such topics as educational policies and legislation, planning and management techniques, planning and design of educational space and facilities, the relationship of education to productive work and employment, inter-country cooperation, the role of education in respect of the New International Economic Order, etc. Country papers are either brief profiles of the educational system of a particular country (mainly the LDCs) or treat a specific reform or aspect of the country's educational system.

Some of the papers reproduced in the series are "desk studies" based on information available within Unesco, others were originally prepared as background or discussion papers for a meeting or seminar, while still others are personal position papers representing part of a continuous dialogue within the Unesco Secretariat.

Papers are selected for the series on the basis of their topical interest. Readers should bear in mind that many, if not most, of the papers are working documents, unedited and not intended for public distribution. Some of the authors have written in a language other than their mother tongue, which explains certain linguistic deficiencies. It must also be stressed that the papers present the ideas of their respective author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of Unesco.

The Division of Educational Policy and Planning welcomes comments and suggestions concerning the series and invites readers to make known their reactions to particular ideas presented or to entire papers. In certain cases it may be possible to reproduce such comments and reactions in a subsequent issue of the series. For the convenience of readers who may wish to contact the author of a paper, the current contact address is given whenever possible.

AVANT PROPOS

La Conférence Générale de l'Unesco, lors de sa 19e session (Nairobi, Kenya, 1976) a décidé que "la collecte et la dissémination de l'information sur les nouvelles politiques d'éducation pour le renouvellement et la réforme des systèmes d'éducation adaptés aux besoins spécifiques basés sur des situations sociales, économiques et culturelles particulières et qui ont comme objectif la démocratisation des systèmes dans le cadre de l'éducation permanente" (Résolution 1.111 du programme) se situent parmi les objectifs prioritaires de l'Organisation.

Conformément à ce mandat, la Division des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation a entrepris en 1977 la reproduction et la distribution de certains documents techniques, sous le titre général de "Rapports et Etudes ...". Cette série a pour objet de stimuler la réflexion et les discussions portant sur les problèmes courants auxquels doivent faire face les décideurs, les planificateurs et les administrateurs de l'éducation ainsi que les architectes scolaires. La distribution se limite aux professionnels du Siège et hors-Siège, ainsi qu'aux personnels d'institutions gouvernementales ou privées susceptibles de les trouver utiles pour leur travail. Nous espérons que cette série constituera un moyen pour promouvoir et augmenter la communication entre les individus et les institutions concernés par les différents aspects des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation.

Ces "Rapports et Etudes ..." se divisent en deux catégories: (i) les documents qui traitent d'un sujet (numérotés S.1, S.2, etc.) et (ii) les documents qui traitent d'un pays (numérotés C.1, C.2, etc. Les premiers portent sur des sujets tels que les politiques et la législation de l'éducation, les techniques de gestion et de planification, la planification et l'étude des espaces, constructions et équipements éducatifs, la relation entre éducation/travail/emploi, la coopération entre les pays, le rôle de l'éducation par rapport au Nouvel ordre économique international, etc. Les seconds présentent des profils du système éducatif d'un pays donné (principalement les pays les moins développés), ou traitent d'une réforme ou d'un aspect spécifique du système éducatif du pays concerné.

Certains des documents reproduits dans cette série sont des "desk studies" basés sur des informations déjà existantes à l'Unesco, d'autres ont été préparés à l'origine pour servir de documents de base ou de discussion à des réunions ou séminaires, alors que d'autres encore, exprimant les positions personnelles des auteurs, se situent dans le cadre d'un dialogue permanent au sein du Secrétariat de l'Unesco.

Les documents sont choisis pour cette série en fonction de l'actualité du sujet traité. Les lecteurs doivent tenir compte du fait que beaucoup, sinon la plupart, des documents sont des documents de travail inédits et ne sont pas destinés au public. Certains auteurs ont rédigé ces documents dans une langue qui n'est pas la leur, ce qui explique certaines faiblesses linguistiques. Nous voudrions également souligner que les documents expriment les idées de leurs auteurs respectifs et ne reflètent pas nécessairement la politique de l'Unesco.

La Division des politiques et de la planification de l'éducation souhaite recevoir des commentaires ou suggestions au sujet de la série, et demande aux lecteurs de bien vouloir faire part de leurs réactions à certaines idées exprimées ou à des documents dans leur ensemble. Dans certains cas, il sera peut-être possible de reproduire ces commentaires et réactions lors d'une prochaine parution de la série. Les adresses des auteurs des documents sont indiquées afin de donner aux lecteurs qui le désirent la possibilité d'entrer en contact avec eux.

C O N T E N T S

1. Introduction 1

2. The Evolution of Compulsory Schooling 9

3. Special Populations 22

4. Upper Secondary Education - Unity or Diversity ? ... 29

5. Transition from School to Work - Youth Unemployment. 38

6. Adult and Lifelong Education 48

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Introduction

by Denis KALLEN

Education in the region has gone a long way since 1960. In many countries, after the devastation of the war, it had to be reconstructed. Pre-war plans and ideas that could not be implemented in time proved on the whole to be inadequate to meet the new needs of reconstructed economies, neither did they respond to the new aspirations of the population. On the other hand, the demographic explosion of the post-war had in the late 1950's just began to reach upper secondary and higher education.

The 1960's have been a period of almost unlimited growth and of a multitude of proposals and initiatives for structural reforms. The period was on the whole characterised by great optimism as to what education could contribute to economic growth and to people's material well-being. Financial means were generous, new schools were built on a massive scale and investment in human and material resources for education kept growing.

Now, almost ten years later, the growth seems to be over and the euphoria has made way for prudence and often for pessimism and scepticism as to the potential of education to better society and improve people's lives. Nevertheless, the end of growth also has its positive aspects. Not only have schools been forced to scrutinise the effectiveness in using scarcer resources, but they also have been pushed to review their objectives in the light of new expectations that were put on education and in the light of the unsatisfactory outcomes of current policies. Thus, for example, policies for equal educational opportunity were revised in the light of massive evidence as to their relative failure. New groups, such as the vast numbers of immigrant workers'children, asked for special treatment and for special provisions. The secondary effects of economic growth and of urbanisation needed to be given a place in education. As a result, new subjects of an interdisciplinary nature, such as environmental education, health education, third world problems, were introduced in the curricula.

The great shock was, however, still to come. Education had until the early seventies meant a guarantee for work, skills were in high and seemingly unlimited demand. Suddenly, however, the myth exploded. Looked at a few years later, the European countries should have been warned by the developments in North America, where problems had already appeared in the late 60's : graduates of secondary and higher education had had increasing difficulties finding jobs and if they did not wish to remain unemployed, they very often had to accept work for which they were "over-qualified". Terms such as "overqualification" and "underemployment" made their appearance.

In Europe, the shock of massive youth unemployment is still very recent. Its effects on education have only just started to become significant, but on the whole they have mainly resulted in student and teacher insecurity and ambivalence of educational policy makers. Thus, for example, measures that in fact encourage young people to stay in school co-exist with measures that in fact encourage the same young people to leave school in view of the futility of obtaining still higher qualifications.

In a nutshell, the present trends in educational development in the region can be described as follows :

1. There is a clear stagnation in resource allocation, due to at least two major causes :
   - economic stagnation and eventual financial stringency
   - a faltering confidence in education as the great equalizer and, more generally, as the way par excellence to attain major social objectives.

   Seen in a long-term perspective, a slowdown in the increase of resources was probably inevitable and may be even advisable. There were many signs that potential and even the sheer absorption capacity of educational systems, had not grown parallel to the increase in resources, or, for that matter, in student numbers.

2. Stagnation of and resistance to further structural innovation, in

particular in those sectors such as junior secondary education, innovation of teaching methods (programmed teaching, team teaching and the like) and of curricula (interdisciplinary subjects, new maths, etc.) in which strong innovative trends could be observed in the 1960's.

Other sectors of education, however, such as pre-school education and the education for the 16 to 19 year age-group, are still at present subject to widespread innovation and experimentation with new approaches, both in terms of structure and of content.

3. There is a search for a new relationship to the community and for closer involvement of the wider community in the school's matters. Schools are not anymore left alone to do their own thing. The surrounding communtiy critically scrutinises their doings and their outcomes. Schools are being asked insistently to account for themselves to the community as to their performance and as to the use that they make of their resources. The "accountability movement" particularly strong in the United States and in Great Britain, has not yet worn out. It has among other things led to setting up educational assessment units (such as the Assessment Performance Unit in the United Kingdom).

4. Search for an optimal use of the school's material and personnel resources to the benefit of the community, in particular by putting the school's resources at the disposal of adults who wish to make use of them.

Both 3. and 4. mark a tendency towards ending the isolation in which the school had gradually manoeuvered itself as per the community, partly in response to the more critical attitude from all sides towards education, partly as a result of a genuine awareness and concern on behalf of teachers and administrators, that is, in response to both outside pressures and to inside motivations.

5. Disenchantment with and a more critical attitude towards research and

experimentation in education have set in. As a result, new policies for R and D are being designed, more closely aligning R and D on educational policy and allowing for closer control by the administration. Research money has become rare even in countries such as Sweden and the Netherlands where educational R and D expenditure had been very generous until far into the 70's, but also in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Switzerland. And in the United States, the Federal Government has, through the creation and massive funding of its own National Institute of Education, assured itself of a close control over much of educational R and D, and universities must more and more compete for rare research grants.

On some major policy issues, educational policy makers are faced with dilemmas that have nowhere been satisfactorily solved as yet. A few of the most striking of these are :

(1) Extension or not of compulsory schooling : the signals from the labour market as to this are contradictory. On the one hand, the increasing stagnation on the job market for young people, and to a growing extent also for young people with professional qualifications, could be taken as an indicator in favour of extension of school compulsion until age 18. On the other hand, however, the labour market has not much more place for 18 year olds than for 16 year olds. For whatever places are available for young people, it often even prefers younger people because they are on the one hand less expensive, on the other hand more flexible and more apt to be trained by industry in the manner industry wants them to be trained.

(2) The consequences of declining birth rates : should they lead to closing schools and firing teachers, or be exploited in order to improve the quality of the educational service ? Unemployed teachers represent a heavy burden on the country's finances, but redeployment in the interest of better education requires budgetary means that education is no longer able to mobilise.

Another implication, and in fact another dilemma for policy makers, derives from declining birth rates. Many small schools should be closed if strict efficiency criteria are applied. There are also stringent educational reasons for merging small schools : only larger schools can offer a sufficient variety of curricula and guarantee a high quality of educational services. Sweden has therefore opted for rather large "Grundskola" and for bussing the children to these central schools. At the same time, however, schools are asked to become focal points in community development and to build up close relations with the surrounding community. They are also increasingly being considered as one of the basic commodities that every community, however, small it is, is entitled to. The preservation of numerous very small village schools in the rural areas of France is a witness to the opposite policy from that of Sweden.

Another feature of educational developments over the past ten years needs to be mentioned. Educational systems notoriously change slowly and are resistant to change. The past years have provided ample evidence of the relative inefficiency of policy and planning measures : their effects have been marginal, affecting the system mainly at the in- and output level, but not in its internal functioning. The reasons for this are well-known : the complexity of the system, the reduced power of central administration over schools (cf. the Netherlands where the majority private system is to a large degree autonomous and where public educational policy can only determine the "randvoorwaarden", the external conditions ; or the United Kingdom, where the LEA's have a large degree of independence, or the United States). Further the long "incubation" period of education must be mentioned. Education requires long-term planning, in contrast to the short- and medium term economic and social planning.

This discrepancy between the timing of educational planning and policy on the one hand and the timing of economic and social planning on the other hand has over the recent past further increased : as a result of structural changes (postponement of selection and differentiation, lengthening of

courses, especially in vocational education), educational planning must cover longer time-spans than in the past. On the other hand, as a result of the economic crisis and of international competition, economic and social planning are increasingly dependent on short-term forecasts.

In the area of structures, differentiation, curricula, in short, of the internal organisation of the educational system, a remarkable continuity since the late 1960's can be seen in nearly all countries. Reforms and innovations that are currently under way or being planned where already under way, planned or discussed in the late 1960's. Examples : comprehensive schooling, a new structure for upper secondary education, a reform of vocational education and in particular of apprenticeship schemes, greater differentiation in upper secondary programmes, the place of special education and its "re-integration" into compulsory schooling, the place and function of the baccalauréat and its equivalents as to admission to higher education, the adaptation of structures of teacher training to the new structural and content developments in secondary education.

Roughly speaking the major changes over the last ten years have been of two kinds :

a. Innovations that were once advocated by a few "progressive" experts or politicians have now in principle become accepted. That is not to say that they have become effective : many are still in the stage of preparation and experimentation, and with the implementation of some of these ideas very little progress has been made even at the level of research and experimentation. Examples : the development of a new, less "academic" curriculum for general secondary education; the reform of teacher training programmes.

   There are also exceptions to this : the idea of comprehensive junior secondary education has in several countries not made much progress since the early 1970's, not so much as a result of internal education problems as of political conflicts around its objectives.

b. There has been a noticeable "politisation" of educational issues, a growing public awareness of the political relevance and implications of educational change and innovation. The comprehensive issue is one example, but there are many others. The introduction of new subjects that are closely interwoven with broader educational-pedagogical issues (sex education), or with larger political issues (civics, environmental teaching) has in many cases become a matter of violent political conflict not only at the national level, but involving the local policy as well.

The rôle played by the social partners (employers' and trade unions organisations) and by press and television in these conflicts has become crucial. It was virtually non-existent only a few years ago.

The key problem before which education was placed in the early 1970's, was the transformation of education from a system for an elite with limited choices, an academically oriented curriculum, separate, second-rate provisions for the less able, "practically-oriented" and "practically gifted" children, to a system for all, with universal access and quasi-universal attendance, with a large variety of equivalent options, with open and reversible options, and a contemporary curriculum. This problem is still not solved and progress towards its solution has been slow and disappointing.

Finally, new issues and new challenges have appeared recently on the educational scene. They are in particular :

1. the problem of special provisions for special populations. Among those are the immigrants' children (the second generation, born in the "host" country, is now being schooled), nomads and other travelling populations, children of seamen, but also the various types of handicapped and behaviourly disturbed children.
2. the problem of the gifted children, for a long time considered as irrelevant, e.g. research in Sweden seeming to show that the gifted were not disadvantaged by comprehensive schooling.

3. the re-structuring of basic education (see on this later in the report).
4. the transition from school to work and the problem of the discrepancy between training patterns and available jobs (see on this later in the report).
5. the end of the open access policy of higher education.
6. the hesitant and slow intrusion of concepts and policies for lifelong and recurrent education into school policies (i.e. policies for primary and secondary education).

THE EVOLUTION OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

by Denis KALLEN

Compulsory schooling is in one form or another characteristic for all educational systems in the region (Europe). It also represents an experience that is shared by virtually all children. For many of them it represents the totality of all formal schooling that they receive. For an increasing proportion, however, it represents only part, be it a major part, of their educational experience.

Compulsory schooling also represented until recently, the most established and least criticised and contested sector of education. Its institutionalisation dates for all countries of the region back into the 19th century and whereas its enforcement may in some countries of the region have been difficult and unsatisfactory until the recent past (witness the agricultural regions in Southern Italy and Portugal), compulsory schooling has for many years been an accepted social institution.

Two developments, of quite different origin, have, in the past few years, somewhat disturbed the peaceful compulsory education scene. The "de-schooling" discussion has been taken more seriously in the region than elsewhere in the world and it has affected compulsory schooling more than the other sectors of education. It has thrown some - perhaps legitimate - doubt upon the usefulness and the effectiveness of the institutionalised school. Public opinion has widely become aware of the failure of the schools to provide full equality of opportunity, of their inability to motivate large groups of children, and, although this criticism is not shared by the majority of the population, of the suffocating effect that the school often has on creative thinking and on the development of a critical mind. Many changes in compulsory

schooling that have been introduced or that are still being experimented have been inspired by the same type of concerns that were at the origin of the de-schooling movement. It needs, however, to be added, that the de-schooling ideas have mainly acted as catalysts and that nowhere in the region can a trend towards de-schooling in the narrow sense of the word be observed. The institution "school" is on the whole as firmly established and as generally adhered to as it had been in the first half of the century.

Secondly, the usefulness of enforcing the compulsion to stay in school for all young people irrespective of their motivation and of the benefit that they draw from staying in school is here and there put in doubt. Exceptions to the rule are granted somewhat more readily than in the past. This is notably due to the difficulties which most school systems in the region have experienced in devising an adequate curriculum for the ever diminishing number of pupils who do not intend to continue schooling after having reached the compulsory school leaving age, a group which, the smaller it becomes, tends in every respect to become more and more marginal in terms of social background, ability, earlier school achievements, motivation and, not least important, disciplinary problems. Not that many European countries have had to face on a massive scale the problems of delinquency, agressiveness towards teachers and other pupils, drug addiction and the like that are long since the sad privilege of high schools in poverty areas in the United States. But serious problems of vandalism, absenteism, drug addiction and discipline have increasingly appeared in the last years of compulsory schooling in the most developed European countries.

This is one of the reasons why for the first time in history there are serious voices in favour of lowering the compulsory schooling age, in order to legalise the earlier departure from school of that minority of the age group that is neither motivated, nor able to continue schooling after having attained the obligatory leaving age and that would rather engage in social activity of one kind or the other one or two years before reaching that age.

It must however be added that whereas the principle of a legalised earlier departure from school finds protagonists, there is an inherent contradiction as to the target group that should be enabled to profit from such a measure. The pupils least motivated to stay on in school are also, grossly speaking, those whose chances to find a job when leaving school are smallest, as their low motivation goes in most cases together with low educational achievement and with absence of even the most initial professional preparation. They form the hard core of what in recent OECD work on Youth Unemployment has been called the "unemployable".

By now, in most countries of the region, compulsory schooling encompasses education from age 5 or 6 (in the Scandinavian countries 7) to age 15 or 16. There is no simple correlation between starting age and completion of the compulsory period : in the United Kingdom with its start at age 5 the compulsion lasts until age 16, in the Scandinavian countries where the compulsion starts at age 7 it also ends at age 16. Compulsory education encompasses within this span of between 8 and 10 years very different types of programmes.

In some countries of the region one single school enrolls all children from the beginning to the end of compulsory schooling. This is the model that is now characteristic for all Scandinavian countries. In other countries, the traditional division between primary and lower secondary education persists, be it that the transition continues to be placed at very different stages of the process : after only four years of primary school in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria, five in Italy and France, six in Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Greece, Spain and in North America. Similarly, the completion of compulsory schooling does not necessarily coincide with the completion of a full cycle of schooling. It does so in the Scandinavian countries and in Italy, but in most countries of the region this completion is located somewhere in the midst of secondary school. Needless to say, this creates problems : even in those cases in which they have not repeated grades, pupils may attain the age at which they are allowed to leave school before having completed the cycle in which they are enrolled and may thus leave school without any formal qualification.

The absurdity of the principle of age-bound (and not achievement-bound) school compulsion and of the absence of co-ordination between obligatory schooling and the structure of the school system is on the whole recognised. It has, however, appeared that structures of educational systems are among the most resistant elements of education to change. Also, discussions as to the duration of compulsory schooling and the structure of the school system relate to different strands of legitimation. Grossly speaking, the compulsory schooling legislation has been strongly determined by social and economic arguments, whereas the structure of education is primarily determined by educational arguments.

The complexity of the issue is illustrated by the plans to introduce a middle school in the Netherlands. In the experimental projects that were conceived in line with the Contours Memorandum of 1975, the middle school covers grades seven to ten and its completion coïncides with the end of compulsory schooling. Whether this coïncidence is to be welcomed or not depends on the curriculum in the last years of compulsory schooling, and it is here that the dilemma lies : it would be in the interest of those pupils who leave school at age sixteen that they receive some vocational training before leaving school. But this would be difficult to reconcile with the prevailing concept of a middle school : it should have no external differentiation and its main purpose is to provide all youngsters with a solid basic education. It could hence be argued that if one wished to maintain the undivided and general character of the middle school and at the same time maintain the school leaving age at sixteen, it would be preferable to introduce a middle school to, say, the end of grade eight or age fourteen, in order to guarantee to early school leavers at least two years of vocational preparation before they present themselves on the labour market. Needless to say, the problem is not yet solved, and the protagonists of the middle school violently reject this solution. There would have been a way out of the problem if the original intention of the Contours Memorandum to extend compulsory full-time schooling to age eighteen had had a chance of being accepted which, as it soon appeared it had not : in that case there was time to prepare young people for their entrance upon the labour market after the completion of the middle school.

As already indicated compulsory schooling has now moved into the front of the educational policy scene. In many countries of the region, plans are being conceived for its restructuring. There is more to this than a simple revision of curricula. The very foundations of the "school for all" are being discussed and re-considered. In the United States, the high school which, as one author puts it, continued "despite almost a century of criticism and proposals for reform... to be a highly regarded community institution, as American as apple pie and baseball... unchanging, static and unbending..." has now come to be considered as "a troubled institution and the most likely arena of educational change for the balance of this decade". Further on, the same article quotes the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education's report of 1973, that "the school system has become too large an institution and is literally overrun with a mix of young people from inconsistent social backgrounds"... "the high school... is not merely inappropriate for a growing number of students. It is increasingly ill-matched to many, possibly a growing majority, of its present adolescent population ...". (1).

The concerns and criticisms as to the compulsory school are many and they vary strongly from country to country. On the whole, they tend to centre on the junior secondary stage and less on the pre-school and primary stages. In several countries of the region they concentrate on the achievement issue, and are inspired by fears of lowering standards in the compulsory schools. This applies particularly to the United States and the United Kingdom. In the United States, for example, it has been found that in recent years high school graduates scored lower on the Standard Achievement Test and the American College Test required for college admission. Whereas there is still a lively debate going on about the meaning of these data and about their causes, one of the immediate consequences hasbeen a movement to concentrate on the basic skills that all youngsters should obtain in the high school. Evidence that high school graduates had not achieved a minimum attainment in the three basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetics contributed obviously to the

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(1) A. HARRY PASSOW."The Future of the High School", in : Teachers College Record, Sept. 1977, Volume 79, no. 1, p. 16 ff.

critical mood about the performance of the high schools. It is reported that by 1978 thirty-one states had passed legislation making it mandatory that receiving a diploma from a secondary school must be accompanied by passing basic competency tests.

Also in the United Kingdom the achievement in basic skills has been one of the main concerns in policies for basic education in the recent past. In October 1976, the then Prime Minister, Mr. J. CALLAGHAN, in a now famous speech, called for a public debate on education. The nation-wide discussion that was stirred up by his strongly critical speech resulted, among other things, in the publication of a document that can be considered as reflecting government thinking on these matters(1). The document states that the child-centred approach that has transformed the primary schools in recent years as well as the widening of the primary schools' curriculum, while harnassing the natural enthusiam of young children for learning things by their own efforts and capitalising on the children's individual stage of development and on their interests, has in the hands of less able and less well prepared teachers resulted in a failure to achieve satisfactory results in basic skills such as reading, spelling and arithmetic. The challenge, the report pursues, is now to restore the rigour without damaging the real benefits of the child-centred developments. In a way, a "return to basics" is advocated. They should be part of a "core curriculum", but it is recognised that the creation of such a core curriculum will be difficult.

The concern about deterioration in standards has in the United Kingdom resulted in a high priority for assessment of performance in schools. The virtual absence of quantitative national evidence of decisive trends in educational standards has now led to the creation of an "Assessment Performance Unit" within the Department of Education and Science, whose task is, not to test basic literacy and numeracy achievement of all primary and secondary school pupils, but "to promote the development of methods of assessing and monitoring the achievement of children at school, and to seek to identify the incidence of under-achievement".

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(1) Education in Schools : a consultative document, HMSO, London, 1977.

In other countries of the region the standard and assessment issues are not in the heart of the debate. In countries such as Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and France, discussion and reform centre more on the objectives of compulsory schooling and on its place in community and society.

Thus a recent authoritative report on the future of education in Denmark[1] recalls the terms of the 1975 act on Primary and Lower Secondary Education, in which were stressed in particular ;

- the co-operation of the school with parents ;
- the need to offer to pupils the "possibility of acquiring" and never to "impart to the pupils" or to "teaching the pupils" ;
- the four basic elements of teaching, as being : knowledge, skills, working methods and forms of expression ;
- acquiring experience as a basis for personal assessment and opinions.

The above report advocates the following points which represent a further development on the basis of the endeavours in progress :

1. - to accord a higher priority to- and to strengthen *aesthetic - creative activities* and *physical activities* in the teaching,
2. - to provide a more *practical bias* to the work at school as a supplement to verbal methods and theoretical information,
3. - accordingly to break the *isolation of the school* as regards the surrounding community - working life, family life, leisure life, and political life,
4. - to make the content of the teaching more *equality- orientated*, and to make teachers as well as parents more conscious of the socialising functions of the school,
5. - and finally through these efforts *to create a connection* between all the activities which take place at school, and to *make them meaningful to the pupils*.

It is stressed that a prerequisite for these reforms is that the rigid timetables

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(1) U 90. Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century. By the Central Council of Education, Ministry of Education, 1979.

are softened and the boundaries between the subjects which have thus far been prevalent be mitigated. Thus the objectives are, among others, translated into proposals as to curriculum and methods of teaching that represent an important departure from the traditional approaches.

A French document published by the Minister of Education[1] outlines the objectives as to the knowledge and abilities that pupils should acquire in grades five to nine, i.e., in four years of common schooling that follow upon primary education. As in the Danish report, great importance is attached to the development of all aspects of the child's personality, to the inculcation of practices and knowledge that are directly relevant to everyday life and that also form the basis for further study. A common core of studies is proposed, aligned on the performance, it is stressed, of "the statistical majority" and not on the weakest pupils. A considerable effort is made to identify the cultural, all-day experience with which young people in this age-bracket are confronted, in order to achieve a harmonious interaction between school experiences and school learning on the one hand and experience and learning in other life circumstances on the other. Consequently, school curricula and timetables are judged important, but are considered to be only part of the learning environment.

In the new school for 4 to 12 year olds that is being prepared in the Netherlands the features are described as[2] :

- the development of each child's personality in a continuous educational, development and learning process,
- the creation of equal opportunities for all, regardless of social background and sex,
- adequate attention to the identity of each child in all subsequent phases of development,
- the prompt identification and investigation of periods of stagnation in the development and learning process and the provision of suitable

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(1) The Knowledge and Abilities acquired from Compulsory Schooling.

(2) See : Contours of a Future Education System in the Netherlands. Government Printing Office, the Hague, 1975, p. 68 ff.

help to individual pupils,

- the creation of child-orientated teaching and learning situation.

Of course there are variations and priorities in the importance attached to objectives. In some countries the equality dimension is given more importance than in others, in some the concern for quality prevails, in some the schools are given more autonomy in translating objectives into concrete curricula and into concrete goals concerning attainments than in others. The particular political context within which education operates in each country explains most of these differences in style and strategy. But there is agreement on the need for a fundamental overhaul of the objectives, curricula and teaching methods of compulsory schooling in order to make it into a more effective instrument for offering full opportunities for children's individual development, full development of intellectual, practical, artistic and affective qualities, adequate preparation for adulthood and preparation for further general or vocational study.

This virtual consensus on objectives does, however, not imply that there is consensus about structures, curricula, organisation or methods. In the following paragraphs of this chapeter some of these variations will be discussed.

First, however, the evolution of theory and practice as to pre-school education must be briefly presented.

Enrolments in pre-school education have on the whole substantially increased. As a result, in several countries of the region pre-school attendance is now virtually general. This applies to Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. In other countries a substantial proportion of children does not attend pre-school classes, and in still other countries pre-school is attended by only a minority of children. These strong differences in attendance seem, however, not to be clearly related to different views about the function and the importance of the pre-school period for the child's further

development. One of the most important reasons for the differences in enrolment rates, is that pre-school education is in most countries organised on a voluntary and private basis and does not come under the direct authority of the Ministry of Education. A second reason is historical : pre-school attendance varied until quite recently from close to zero to the quasi totality of the age-group. Such enormous differences do not disappear in a few decades. Nevertheless, demand for pre-school places has strongly grown nearly everywhere in the region. Equally, pre-school education has come to be considered as a vital link in educational policy, particularly for achieving equal starting opportunities between children of different social and ethnic backgrounds. But whereas not so long ago in many countries of the region the compensatory philosophy prevailed, policies nowadays concentrate on the opportunities for full affective and intellectual development offered to all children in the pre-school years. But great differences exist, however, between countries when it come to translating this principle into educational strategies : some countries feel that this requires a structured pre-school experience for all children, others think that at all cost the play-school model should be maintained. Some feel that this requires a clear policy for pre-school education defined at the central level, other countries do not wish to interfere too much with the prevailing "freedom of enterprise" in organising development experiences for pre-school children.

In several countries of the region a close coordination between pre-school and primary school is envisaged. The most far-reaching policy in this area is being prepared in the Netherlands : in the near future there will be one integrated school for four to twelve year olds, the "basic school", in which children will experience a continuous development and learning process according to their level of individual development. The subject-matter/year/grade system will be abolished at least in the first stage, i.e., until approximately age 8, in order to give full scope to children's individual development patterns.

A similar debate about the organisation of the pre-school experience and the coordination between pre-school and primary school is being held in

Belgium and Denmark. Whereas, however, in the Netherlands compulsory education will be extended downwards by one year, i.e. to age five, such a downward extension is in these two countries debated, but not (yet) decided. Of course, the nature of the pre-school experience plays a key rôle in these discussions : in Denmark, e.g. where pre-school classes exist parallel to "Kindergarten", a generalisation of the experience and of the "Kindergarten" model is much more acceptable than for the pre-school model. Fears that children's development will be damaged if pre-school experience is too much modelled on the school-model and not on the play-model of the "Kindergarten", play in fact a decisive rôle in this matter. Unless satisfactory guarantees can be given that generalisation of the pre-school experience does not imply the extension downward of traditional primary school with its knowledge-orientation, its grade-system and its competitiveness, there is very little chance for its general acceptance.

The structure of the upper part of compulsory education has been at the heart of the educational debate since quite some time. Already in the 1960's a generalised trend could be observed in the region towards postponing the choice of further studies or of career until somewhere close to the completion of compulsory schooling. In some countries this had led to introducing comprehensive schools, in others to arrangements for a more flexible transition between parallel types of school. The former solution had in fact already in the sixties or early seventies been adopted in many countries of the region : the Scandinavian countries, Italy, France, the United Kingdom and, of course Canada and the United States, the latter in most other countries of the region. It must, however, immediately be added that the comprehensive-school solution was introduced in a number of variations that between them differ quite considerably for what concerns the modes, timing and degree of internal differentiation or streaming whereas the second solution appeared on the whole to be rather ineffective for what concerns postponement of choice.

Now, in the late seventies, as to the "comprehensive" or the "flexibility" model countries generally belong to the same group to which they already

belonged early in the present decade. In other words : the movement towards introducing comprehensive schooling at the junior secondary level has made little progress and has virtually come to a halt. Within the group of countries, however, that had already opted for the comprehensive model, in a few cases great progress has been made towards generalising what early in the decade was still a minority solution (this applies in particular to Belgium, France and the United Kingdom), whereas in other countries strong political opposition has arisen against the comprehensive school and as a result relatively little progress has been made towards its generalisation. Typical examples are Austria, the Federal Republic and Switzerland. In the Federal Republic, the Federation and six Länder feel that the attainment of the objectives of Secondary Stage I on which there is a large degree of consensus in the country requires the introduction of the integrated comprehensive school, five Länder are convinced that a differentiated school system at the junior secondary level provides better chances for achieving these aims[1].

However, strong disagreement about this issue persists, not only between the Länder, but also within them. The discussion has become heavily politicised and at present there is a stalemate position between protagonists and opponents. It must be added that the, generally, rather positive results of experiments with integrated comprehensive schools seem to throw very little weight into the balance of political decision and of public opinion.

The same can be said, mutatis mutandis, of Austria and Switzerland. In Austria the number of comprehensive school experiments, though considerable, is held down by law and thus generalisation is blocked. In several Swiss cantons experimental projects, though rather successful, have not led, and in the prevailing political climate are not likely to lead in the near future, to steps for more general introduction.

The situation in other countries, in particular in the Netherlands, bears some ressemblance to the one described above ; on a rather large scale

(1) General Plan for Education, Bund-Länder Kommission, Abridged version, 1973.

carefully monitored experiments with an integrated "middle school" from grade 7 through 10 are carried out, but in the recent past the political future of the middle school has become somewhat obscured. Again, the prevailing political climate will most likely throw more weight into the scale of future decision-making as to generalised introduction or not than the outcome of the experiments.

In other countries, notably in France and the United Kingdom, great progress has been made towards the general introduction of comprehensive schools or "collèges d'enseignement général". But in both countries, though in different ways, the modalities of differentiation within these schools have been subject to considerable variation and modification. In France the model of a two-year "cycle d'observation" during which pupils all follow the same programme, followed by a two-year "cycle d'orientation", during which optional subjects can be chosen, is now being generalised. In the United Kingdom, as a result of, on the one hand, the large degree of autonomy of the Local Educational Authorities, and on the other hand, lack of consensus, a large variety of models of internal differentiation of comprehensive schools has developed. Now four out of five of all pupils are attending comprehensive schools.

In Canada and United States, the "high school" comprehends many variations on the theme and although there is no external differentiation at the junior secondary level, the variety in internal differentiation models is such that no generally-applicable conclusions can be drawn for what concerns the effectiveness of the high school in postponing real choice and in offering real equality of educational opportunity.

In the end, the decisive factor is probably not whether or not countries in the region will introduce comprehensive schools, but which type of internal differentiation, which options and which type of common core curriculum they will offer. All available research evidence indicates that selection can be as definitive and as discriminating in comprehensive schools as in parallel school systems and it is hence on the internal structure of comprehensive education that policy should concentrate.

SPECIAL POPULATIONS

by Sarah COLTON

In the last decade much attention has been paid to the educational needs of "special populations". Identification and definition of special populations vary from country to country. This is due not only to the differences between countries in representation of certain groups such as gypsies, Indians, Migrant workers, etc., but also to the differences in the place in the economic and ideological structure of the society given to groups such as handicapped, aged, or deviant persons. For example, in a highly industrialized country the traditional fabric of the extended family may be deteriorated to the point that "Older people" are considered as a "special population". Another society with a powerful extended family structure would not consider older people as a "special population", but might have fixed ideas about the (limited) rôle that handicapped people may play in the "normal society".

Thus, although the determination of special populations may vary from country to country, they are all somehow identified as needing a different strategy and/or management by the "normal" population.

However special populations are defined, there are several issues which are relevant to all and which have important implications for education.

1) Integration/Segregation

Should these populations be allowed to develop as parallel and marginal to the dominant group or should they be integrated into the whole. What are the relative costs to the society and the individual in economic and ideological terms of parallel vs. integrated groups ?

2) The problems involved in categorizing individuals or groups.
If special treatment or funds are to be set aside for special groups in need, it is necessary to establish categories for those who qualify. But once identified according to a certain category the individual or group risks being segregated from the rest of the society.

3) It is not only the "special populations" who need to be educated for adaptation to the norms of the dominant society. "Normal" people, too, need to be educated as to the special problems and values of such groups and individuals.

As mentioned above, special populations can be racial or ethnic groups or they can be members of the dominant group who are considered special because of mental or physical handicaps, age, or deviant social behaviour. Of the many such groups in Europe and North America, the problems of the handicapped and the problems of the children of Migrant workers will be dealt with below.

Handicapped :

In education systems which provide for a selection of an Elite, there is little chance that handicapped people will ever be allowed to enter the competition. But with the evolution of equality of educational opportunity for all, education for handicapped persons receives more attention. In addition to ideological reasons for providing equal education for handicapped persons there are economic and social reasons as well. Societies in which handicapped people are self sufficient and self supporting have a lesser financial and social burden (1).

Many countries have recently passed legislation which provides for the education of handicapped persons. In the U.S.A. Public Law 94-142 guarantees all handicapped children a free, appropriate and public education.

There is legislation in France to protect the handicapped, and advanced reforms in a number of Scandinavian countries". In England, the "...Education Act of 1976 provides that, from a day to be appointed by

(1) Gabriel FRAGNIERE : Education Without Frontiers, London, Duckworth, 1976, pp. 125-125.

the Secretary of State, handicapped pupils should be educated in country or voluntary schools, in preference to special schools, unless conformity to the requirements would be impracticable, against the educational interests of the children (both handicapped and non-handicapped), or involve unreasonable public expenditure"(1).

As can be readily seen, many of the conditions upon which "mainstreaming" (term used for putting handicapped children into regular schools) must be based, are hotly debated. The same problems as mentioned above become evident. What criteria should be used for deciding which children are handicapped ? How much integration is appropriate. In addition, there are the problem of teacher training and special personnel. A report of the Committe of Inquiry into the education of handicapped children and young people (London HMSO, 1978) recommended among other things that "... initial teacher training, including that leading to the post graduate certificate, should include a special education element. Within the next few years the great majority of serving teachers should be sent on short in-service courses of about a full week's duration... Extra salary payments should cover all these recognized qualifications..." (2).

Despite much debate, the trend appears to be in the direction of mainstreaming as many handicapped persons as possible. Normal schools must then address themselves to the special problems of handicapped persons including education and job counselling and helping the handicapped person in transferring from school to work.

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(1) IBE Geneva 77. United Kingdom Report, Part II, Major Trends in England and Wales, 1974-76, p. 10).

(2) The Times Educational Supplement, 26/V/78.

Education of Migrant Workers :

With the increasing number of migrant workers in Europe and North America, in the 60's and 70's, the host countries have been faced with the problem of integrating their children into the education systems. Of the many problems that these children face in adapting the host culture the most outstanding is that of language. According to research findings, immigrant children of up to 6 or 7 years of age can usually adapt relatively easily to the new language, picking it up here and there from their school-mates. But after the age of eight, unless special measures are taken the educational career of the child is placed in heavy jeopardy (1).

Other problems which children of migrant workers face are :

- The psychological shock of being in a totally strange environment ;
- Religious and cultural practices of host country which put into question the traditions which they practice(d) at home.
- Placement in a grade or level inferior to that which they were in their home country.
- Hostility, suspicion or indifference of school-mates ;
- Lack of recognition or credit for courses and degrees completed in home country ;
- Loss of ability and identity with mother tongue (2) ;

Host countries can reduce the educational problems or integration for immigrant children by providing special courses and classes in the normal schools, by educating the parents, and by providing special training courses for teachers of immigrant children. Most countries have introduced programmes which include pre-school education, special language classes (both Host and Mother tongue), remedial classes and a variety of activities which help to bring the immigrant children into an active participation in the school life.

In addition, initial teacher training courses have been adapted to

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(1) Documentation Européenne. L'Education des Enfants des Travailleurs Migrants dans la Communauté Européenne. pp. 3-4.

(2) Documentation Européenne, pp. 3-4.

include classes in language teaching techniques and equipment, classes in the languages and cultures of representative immigrant groups. Efforts have also been made to recruit teachers who come from the immigrants' cultures (1).

In the Federal Republic of Germany all political parties are in favour of increasing the care taken of children of migrant workers, of which there are about 1 million.

At supraregional level there are two bodies co-ordinating action :

1. The Joint Federation-Länder Committee for Educational Planning : The Federal Government has submitted a discussion paper proposing certain measures to improve pre-school, school and vocational education for migrant workers' children and urging an improved advice system for parents and increased socio-pedagogical help.

2. The Working Party on Migrant Workers' Children of the Conference of Ministers of Education : Mr. G. MAHLER, its chairman, has recently expressed the opinion that migrant workers' children should not lose their identity but develop a new cultural and social identity (eg. not German Turks but Turks in Germany). In his view migrant workers have to be better informed and motivated so that they see the value of their children attending pre-school education. Nursery schools where Greek, Italian, Turkish, etc., teachers are employed in addition to the German staff would make things much easier. According to Mr. MAHLER, it is wrong, however, to think that the problem will be solved once most migrant workers' children entering school are born in Germany and therefore know German. One must not forget that it is not only a language problem but also a problem of social differences (2).

In Sweden, a bill presented to Parliament in March 1977 proposes the "... introduction of a new programme for teachers specializing in

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(1) Documentaion Européenne. L'Education des Enfants des Travailleurs Migrants dans la Communauté, pp. 7-8.

(2) Akademischer Dienst, 30-31 & 35/1978.

the native languages of migrant children... ".

The bill provides for the setting up, as from the 1977/78 academic year, of courses for future teachers of the native languages of migrant children. The courses, which will be able to cater for 120 students per year, will be based in Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö and will in the coming year cover Finnish, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Turkish and Danish. As well as language training the courses will give information concerning the social scene. The bill stresses in particular this social element. Within a framework of basic training, students can specialize in teaching at various levels, for example pre-school, lower or middle levels of the comprehensive school upper secondary.

Access to this training will be the same as for other higher education courses except that the normally required standard in English will not be demanded (1).

In the Netherlands "... the most serious problems that migrant children have to face at school are, apart from the inevitable emotional instability :

a. the sharp cultural gap between home and school,
b. the ignorance of the Dutch Language,
c. the eventual loss of their own cultural identity,
d. the too early selection for a rigidly-streamed secondary education.

Defining these problem areas has allowed the authorities to plan some of the answers better. Even before state and municipal departments started paying more careful attention to these questions, there was a period of spontaneous, intuitive and inventive teaching and counselling developed by private institutions and individual school-teachers. The experience accumulated all along the years by voluntary associations and concerned individuals has been of great value to the partnership which now exists between public and private organisations in their efforts to improve the situation of migrants and their families.

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(1) Ministry of Education press release 24/III/77.

A certain number of selected activities are now being implemented, thanks to this useful partnership. Some measures are directed at the migrant child, as a means of "positive discrimination". Some are intended to give Dutch teachers "that kind of cosmopolitan mentality - an open and respectful attitude towards the migrant child as a working mate" (1).

A third group of activities is encouraging more information to be released to migrant parents in order to ensure their greater participation in all spheres of Dutch society. Other initiatives are taken to enable migrant teachers to fulfill their tasks to the full and to communicate with their Dutch colleagues. Finally, a few activities are organised in order to give the Dutch public in general a better information on the situation of the migrant workers in Netherlands and on the cultural background of their home countries.

The special measures taken by Dutch authorities with regard to the education of migrant children can, therefore, be listed as follows :

a. extra tuition in the Dutch language,
b. extra tuition in their own language and culture,
c. special training courses for both Dutch and migrant teachers in charge of a. and b. respectively,
d. production of special educational aids,
e. information activities,
f. special educational guidance for the extra tuition as meant under a. and b. (2).

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(1) "On cross cultural education in the Netherlands", document presented to the Conference "Education in a Multi-Cultural Society" held by the United Kingdom department of Education and Science at the University of Nottingham on 2-5 Sept. 1976.

(2) Council of Europe, Strasbourg 78, Council for Cultural Co-operation. The Education of Migrants' Children in Europe. The Netherlands, Part I, pp. 15-16.

UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

Unity or Diversity ?

by Denis KALLEN

1. At first sight one might get the impression that upper secondary schools are not that much different from one country of the region to the other nor from what they were some ten to fifteen years ago : apart from a few exceptions such as Sweden and North America, where one single upper secondary school offers a broad spectrum of programmes, from university-preparatory to vocational, from short to long, all other countries have, as they had in the 1960's, different types of secondary schools for the different aims that post-compulsory education serves.

This appearance of little change, however, conceals a series of major innovations and of major differences and disagreements about the rôle and structure of upper secondary education. As a result, upper secondary education is of all educational levels the most troubled and in trouble. It is also the one whose future development is least clear and whose nature is likely to undergo further major changes in the near future, be it that it is at this moment difficult to predict what these changes will be.

2. The first significant fact that must be recalled when discussing upper secondary education is, however trivial such a statement may appear, that it is placed between compulsory schooling and higher education. In most countries the former extends now, as was mentioned in the foregoing section of this report, until age sixteen. It enrolls the totality of the age-group in a programme of "basic" education, i.e. of general, fundamental education, differentiated according to interests and abilities of pupils, but in nearly all countries, no longer providing a professional qualification to those who leave school at the conclusion of compulsory schooling. Only in rare exceptions such as the Netherlands, have professional courses at this level survived, but also there they are bound to disappear in the near future. As a result, professional preparation in the true

sense of the word has become the task of post-compulsory education[1]. Furthermore, the proportion of pupils enrolled beyond the compulsory school level is constantly increasing. In many countries of the region more than half and in some about two thirds are enrolled in full-time upper secondary schooling. Upper secondary education eventually has the task to provide for a variety of programmes that corresponds to the interest and abilities of a much larger group of youngsters than it did in the past. There is a demand for a richer pattern of provisions ranging from one to four years and from academic to vocational.

At the same time, the "equality of opportunity movement" has now extended to the upper secondary stage. In a way, this is a logical next step in the equality strategy : at the compulsory school level equal chances have been assured, be it with moderate success. It seems unacceptable that equality is at age sixteen brought to a sudden halt by a sharp distinction between programmes that open the doors to higher education and programmes that do not. As a result, a similar development to what has happened in junior secondary education in the late 1950's and in the early 1960's is now taking place in upper secondary education : the dividing line between academic-type and non-academic programmes and between general and technical education is becoming less distinct, smoother transitions between programmes are introduced and choices between programmes become less irreversible.

3. A third factor that strongly affects the present development of upper secondary education is the labour market. School leavers from 16 to 19 have increasing difficulties finding a job. Unemployment rates are in some cases, such as Italy, as high as half of the respective age-year. Moreover, there is in most countries a considerable "Dunkelziffer" of youngsters who are neither in school, nor registered as unemployed. Of

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(1) In some countries, such as e.g. France, "pre-professional" classes still exist within the compulsory schooling period. There is much dissatisfaction and much disagreement about their functioning and their existence. It seems safe to predict that they will in the not too far future disappear, at least if the present unemployment problems for low-skilled young workers persist and if the present pressures for assuring full equality of further education possibilities to all of the age-group and particularly to the least-privileged are maintained.

course, unemployment rates vary according to level of schooling, but in particular secondary graduates from general programmes have in some countries, such as Canada, greater difficulties in finding a job than their age-mates who have followed a shorter professional training programme. At any rate, this raises the question whether young people would not do best to stay in school as long as possible. Also, it is a strong disincentive to choosing a professional training programme.

4. Finally, the evolution of higher education weighs heavily on uppper secondary education. In the first place, access to higher education has in most countries become restricted, either over the whole range of higher education or for specific lines of study. In those countries of the region in which a general secondary leaving certificate guaranteed admission to higher education, this is not longer the case. "Baccalauréat", "Abitur" and "Eindexamen" are necessary but not sufficient conditions for being admitted to the higher education study of one's choice. The fact that nevertheless the numbers of these secondary graduates have in spite of these restrictions continuously increased illustrates the impasse before which young people in upper secondary education are placed (1).

But there is a second, more important anticipatory reaction in upper secondary education. In response to the increased variety of the upper secondary school population and, also to the growing variety of post-secondary programmes, the choice and diversification in upper secondary education have become much wider. Thus e.g. in France, the baccalaureat now comprises 10 options. In Sweden, the gymnasium offers not less than 21 variants. In many countries students can now choose between an almost infinite variety of combinations of subjects instead of having to choose between a humanistic and a scientific and/or a classical or modern language programme. However, an unintended effect of this variation in combinations of subjects is that they result in fact in the early discrimination of students as to future lines of study. Choices of combinations of subjects up to three years before the final examination determine the field(s) of higher education study that are still open three years later. Needless to say, in the absence of timely and adequate information

(1) HECQUET Ignace, VERNIERS Christiane and CERYCH Ladislav : Recent Student Flows in Higher Education. Amsterdam-New York, FEC-ICED, 1977.

on behalf of the students this has reintroduced an element of inequality and injustice : information and foresight are notoriously very unequally distributed.

In particular the selection function that mathematics fulfill in this context as a highly effective, but discrete and surreptitious selection instrument has often been brandished. It has rightly been said that mathematics are in this context "the new latin"(1).

5. Faced with these dilemmas, short-term policies for upper secondary education may sometimes appear as being contradictory, undecided and erratic. Thus, for example, in the Federal Republic, the Federal Government has made a strong plea in favour of a policy by which every secondary school leaver should obtain a professional qualification. This may seem strange in a situation in which the labour market already is unable to offer places to many professionally trained school leavers. But it is argued that professional preparation, provided it does give a broad range of competences, is a good long-term investment and that it would be unwise to let short-term labour market conditions determine upper secondary policy. Equally in France, the recent proposal to introduce "éducation en alternance" for all secondary school leavers who are not preparing themselves for higher education aims at guaranteeing to every secondary school leaver a professional qualification.

But the success of this measure will to a large extent depend on the perspectives for professionally qualified young people on the labour market. For the time being, they have almost as many difficulties finding a job as unskilled school leavers.

6. Policy makers in many countries of the region are convinced that it is in the long-term interest of their countries, of their labour market and, last but not least, of the young people themselves, that they do not

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(1) See on this : Society and the Study of Science, Mathematics and Technology, by Professor Denis KALLEN, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1978.

leave school without a professional qualification. But two factors make such a policy difficult to implement : the already mentioned difficulties on the labour market even for qualified young candidates and, secondly, the attraction that general, pre-university programmes exercise on pupils. Thus in Sweden the gymnasium options that prepare directly for higher education are by far more popular than those that prepare primarily for the labour market. In other words, even in those countries such as Sweden in which all upper secondary programmes give access to higher education and in which, moreover, real second chance opportunities for access to higher education for adults with no secondary leaving certificate exist, the preference for pre-academic programmes persists.

7. Another dilemma for which policy at this educational level is placed is closely connected to the first one. For reasons of equality of opportunity first, and because of the difficulties to place school leavers on the labour market in the second instance, voices have been raised in several countries in favour of encouraging, if not making compulsory, full-time schooling until the completion of upper secondary education, i.e, until age 18.

The Danish Central Council of Education says in its "U 90" report[1] : "... we consider it to be vital that all young people get an opportunity of education after completing the 9th year (and perhaps also the 10th year) of primary and lower secondary education. In other words ; the residual group - understood as the persons who enter the labour market directly from primary and lower secondary school, and who do not return to the educational system - must disappear or be reduced to comprise the very low percentage which in no circumstances will be possible to fit into normal education." (p. 138). The Council judges the "development must take place gradually as a natural extension of the many innovations and reforms that have been introduced in this field over the last fifteen years" (ibidem), but goes on to say : "Looking ahead to 1990 we think

(1) U 90. Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century. By the Central Council of Education, Ministry of Education, Copenhagen, 1978.

that the aim must be that everybody should get al least 12 years of schooling ;many will continue with a 13th or more years, but we think that the 12 years should be minimum for all." (ibidem ; p. 138) ... On the other hand, the members of the CCE do not agree as to whether this should be done by extending the period of compulsory education from 9 to 12 years. The majority considers it to be valuable that the aim is reached by making post-compulsory education so versatile and attractive that the result will be that everybody stays on voluntarily. An element in this would be an expansion of the possibilities of support so that there will not be a strong incentive to enter the labour market instead of getting an education".

Of course one could comment at some length on these ideas. Thus, for example, it seems rather optimistic to expect school to become attractive enough to retain precisely those young people who are least gifted and who are, on the other hand, in many respects mature adults.

In the Netherlands also a lively discussion has been going on on these issues since the "Contours Memorandum" was published in 1975. The first Contours text proposed to extend compulsory schooling until age 18 and to create a coordinated upper secondary school with three streams : an academic stream offering admission to higher education, a "long" vocational stream preparing for middle level occupations and a "short" vocational stream preparing for lower-grade occupations. Between the two vocational streams transfers would be possible. However, in the revised version of the report, published in the follow-up report[1] of 1977, which took into account the many comments and criticisms that had been received on the first Memorandum the idea of extending compulsory schooling was for the time being abandoned, in view of the massive criticism of this proposal, but it is suggested that in the 1980's a definitive decision as to this shall be taken. Furthermore, the concept of a three-stream upper secondary school is modified and replaced by a model with "dozens" of options in order to respond to the demand for a great variety of courses that respond to the interests, aspirations and

(1) Contouren van een toekomstig onderwijsbestel 2 ; Vervolgnota, Government Printing Office, the Hague, 1977.

abilities of the entire age-group. Transfers between all these options - which will vary not only in content, but also in length - will be made possible wherever this is feasible, but full flexibility cannot be guaranteed. Another key element of the Dutch proposals concerns the reinforcement of the social relevance and of the interaction with community and society. In order to attain this interaction, it is proposed that in all upper secondary programmes, subject matter should be geared to social activity, including the options that prepare for higher education[1].

In many respects suggestions for a new upper secondary school in the Federal Republic go in the same direction. In the 1974 proposals of the now dissolved German Education Council[2] for a new structure of upper secondary school, with the revealing subtitle "Concept for an integration of general and vocational education" it is suggested to integrate the vocational courses that at present are for a major part organised within industry, into the school system. This would in the first place benefit the 80-85 percent of the age-group of ages 16 and 17 who are not in full-time school, but in apprenticeship schemes, but it would also greatly benefit the present gymnasium programmes as it would bring them in closer touch with practical life and particularly with work. From an organisational as well as from a curriculum point of view, however, this integration between general and vocational programmes would meet with many problems. Not the least of these is the different certification structure of both types of programmes. One of the aims of the proposed reform is to translate the changed rôle of the school in transmitting knowledge, attitudes and competences into educational concept. In this context the concept of a variety of "learning places" (Lernorte) is given much importance : besides the school, other learning places such as the family, the work place, institutions for leisure and culture, the peer group, should be recognised and be given their due place in a new educational concept for upper secondary school. This implies new organisational links between these different instances, a highly differentiated offer of educational opportunities and, on behalf of the school, abandoning its quasi-monopoly and opening up

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(1) KALLEN Denis : The Future of Education in the Netherlands : Comments on the Proposals of the "Contours Memorandum". In press.

(2) Zur Neuordnung der Sekundarstufe II. Konzept für eine Verbindung von allgemeinem und beruflichem Lernen. Deutscher Bildungsrat. Ernst Klett Verlag Stuttgart. 1974.

to the surrounding community in its full diversity. Although these proposals were not generally adhered to, and in spite of the fact that only in a few of the "Länder" experiments with the new upper secondary school are being conducted (notably in North-Rhine Westfalia), some of the key notions of the report have become part of educational policy. This is in particular the case for the proposal to reduce the gap between general and vocational programmes and to assure to all youngsters in the age-group a basic vocational education.

In Norway the so-called Steen Committee, created in 1965, has launched a concept for a new upper secondary school (called "middle school") that in several important respects agree with those of the countries that have been mentioned earlier. The new middle school shall comprise all formal education, training and instruction, both vocational and general. The new law shall also cover part-time education and adult education and combine the present gymnasium, vocational schools, technical schools for trade and commerce, part-time schools and home economic schools. Its aim will be to offer an education of both a general and a vocational nature and thus providing a basis for all further education.

Other countries go perhaps less far in terms of proposing an integrated upper secondary school for the entire age-group, but move, nevertheless, in the same direction. Thus in Finland it has been proposed to conceive upper secondary vocational education in such a way that it can compete with the traditional upper secondary school as a means of access to higher education. This will require reducing the innumerable options in vocational programmes. Furthermore it is proposed to introduce a first common year of upper secondary education for all pupils after which they could choose between gymnasium and vocational programmes.

The Haby reform in France proposes a "tronc commun" in the first and second year of all "lycées", with only a limited number of optional subjects. It also proposes to raise the upper secondary vocational courses to the lycée-level and call them "lycées d'enseignement professionnel". One of the main advantages of the new structure would be that pupils of the latter type of schools could under certain conditions transfer

to the longer, pre-university lycées.

A particularly animated discussion has been going on in the United Kingdom about a new "Sixth Form". In a recent publication it is said that the traditional sixth form concept has been subject to attack because of the narrowness of its curriculum and the extent to which it is dominated by the GCE advanced level examinations[1]. "Attempts have been made to widen the curriculum in Britain partly by school based initiatives... and partly through proposed examination reform. Secondly, increasing numbers of potential sixth-form pupils have been voting with their feet, i.e. they have been leaving school and enrolling at a college of further education where the regime is perceived to be more "permissive" and "adult" (p. 8). ..."The most important attack on the sixth-form concept however has resulted from the reorganization of secondary education to a comprehensive pattern in the last decade... Probably the most striking innovation has been the development of special institutions for the 16-19 age-group operating either under school regulations or as part of the further education sector..." It is mentioned that the need to broaden the sixth form curriculm has even led to less depth in study, but also to alternative curricula for different types of students. Already in 1965 the amalgamation of secondary and further education had been advocated for all those who wish to continue their education beyond the school leaving age.

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(1) Educational Provision 16-19. by Judy DEAN and Bruce CHOPPIN. NFER Publishing Company, 1977.

TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

- *Youth Unemployment* -

by Sarah COLTON

Rising unemployment of youth has been a major issue in North America and Western Europe since the mid-seventies. Conclusions as to causes, duration and possible solutions to the problem are sketchy and contradictory, thus posing problems for policy makers. In the past, policies to reduce youth unemployment have been short term, but with the increasing realization that the problem is likely to persist for the forseeable future[1] there is an increasing need for long-term solutions.

Policies which can have the most direct impact on the problem of youth unemployment are those which deal with the demand side of the labour market. Most education policies are designed to reduce the Qualitative Mismatch -- that is the lack of fit between supply and demand of educated manpower such as the lack of proper vocational skills and attitudes. The problem with these policies is that they are based upon unproven assumptions that people remain unemployed because they are unskilled. It has been found that ".. a mere increase of vocational training or a certain 'vocationalisation' of general education is no guarantee against unemployment. As many as 30.5% of the German unemployed have completed apprenticeship schemes, while 18.5% of the unemployed teenagers in Norway have some vocational education. The most recent figures in France point in the same direction : while in 1972, 78% of lower vocational degree holders (Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle) found a job immediately after the end of their schooling, the rate dropped to 64% in 1976 and there are 9% unemployed among the secondary technical school certificate holders ("bacheliers techniques"), up until recently a very "safe" qualification[2].

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(1) GORDON, Margaret S., "Youth Unemployment in Western industrialized countries -- A Short-Term or Long-Term Problem ?". Chapter II of Youth in Contemporary Societies, Draft, April 78, pp. 33-34.

(2) CERYCH, Ladislav : "Major Problems Confronting Education in Europe Today". Paper submitted to workshop of the Hague Club : Private Foundations and Problems of Education in Europe, Berlin, Nov. 21, 1978.

Thus educational policies designed to improve the quality and the match of the supply of manpower can not effectively reduce the problem of youth unemployment unless economic policies can increase the demand side of the labour market. But the low demand for labour is exacerbated by the fact that many young people do not possess the proper skills and attitudes necessary to fill the limited positions which are available. A recent survey of US employers found that 25% listed lack of skills or qualifications as a primary reason for not hiring young people[1].

Given this presumed lack of skills, education policies aim at improving the effectiveness of schooling by providing young people with the skills and attitudes considered necessary for employment or "employability". Different theories as to what these requirements might be, and the resulting policies, vary considerably. There are those which stress general and varied work experience and exposure during the school years. Others think that skill acquisition should be job-specific. Still others, hold out for increased emphasis on basic skills such as reading, writing and numeracy as prerequisits for any job[2].

National policy measures often reflect the overlap between the first two areas of emphasis -- both general vocational training and some kind of job specific training. In Germany, for example there is since 1976 :

1. Introduction of a one-year preparatory course :
   All pupils who complete the compulsory nine years of schooling in the current school year and who do not find a job or continue their studies in a full-time school may attend a one-year course of preparation for gainful employment. The course provides both general and technical education. Twelve of the 30 periods per week are devoted to vocational instruction in the workshops of existing vocational schools to make pupils acquainted with various crafts and trades. The remaining 18

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(1) The Transition from School to Work : A Study of Laws, Regulations and Practices Restricting Work Experience and Employment Opportunities for Youth. Nat. Committee on Employment of Youth, New York, June 75.

(2) FREEDMAN p.297 in From School to Work : Improving the Transition. A Collection of Policy Papers Prepared for the National Commission for Manpower Policy, Washington, 1976.

periods are reserved for general subjects, in particular for those which may improve their qualifications on the labour market. Pupils wishing to sit for the leaving certificate of the compulsory school while at the preparatory course may do so. Instruction in vocational subjects will for them be reduced to seven periods per week. Completion of this one-year course is equivalent to the three-year attendance at part-time vocational school which is compulsory up to the age of 18/19 : this, it is hoped, will make it easier for graduates of the course to find employment. Such preparatory courses will be introduced after the summer vacation in particular in North-Rhine-Westphalia, the biggest of the German Länder.

2. Expansion of the one-year basic vocational course :

In all Länder the so-called "Berufsgrundbildungsjahr" has been introduced in recent years but has so far not been attended by more than 10% of holders of school-leaving certificates. This basic vocational course of one year's duration is a full-time course which provides an introduction to a vocational field combined with instruction in related general subjects. There exist at present curricula for some 10 such fields (metal work, wood work, construction, administration, commerce, etc.). The vocational training received in this one-year course is followed by later specialisation in a two-year period of apprenticeship (instead of three as is the rule for most crafts and trades). These courses will now be offered on a much broader scale in all Länder to cater in particular for unemployed adolescents. It is hoped that young people completing these courses will have a better chance to enter an apprenticeship.

3. Expansion of full-time vocational schools :

All Länder have decided to offer a broader intake to these schools which are as a rule of two years' duration and provide training for those who have obtained the leaving certificate of the compulsory school or the intermediate school. The schools are specialised in home economics, commerce and secretarial work, preparation for paramedical professions, etc., and many school-leavers who could not find gainful employment

are at present applying for admission to these schools...

These educational measures are supported by emergency programmes of the Länder Ministries for Social Affairs, of the Interior and of Economics. These programmes, to many of which the Federal Authorities contribute grants, aim at creating additional work-and training-places in industry and commerce, at alleviating unemployment in disfavoured areas and at providing job opportunities for handicapped persons.

However, the disquieting question remains how to help those who do not seek such help. Those who are motivated to raise their general and vocational qualifications are a minority not exceeding one in four among unemployed young people. The majority seems to be waiting for the economic recovery to increase job opportunities for the unskilled as was the case in the past (1).

In Norway, in 1972, the Committee on the future of vocational training proposed "...that vocational training be organized in 10 branches comprizing 23 groups of subjects. In a future report the committee will discuss the contents to be offered by each branch of training.

It is proposed that vocational training should be of a duration of three years. Each branch would offer a common basic course to students opting for subjects within its area. It is expected that the full range of branches will be available even at smaller schools or at least within any given geographical area. The three-year period of training should be both complete in itself and open up possibilities for further training or study. The committee is of the opinion that there should be a stronger link between practical and theoretical knowledge in schools, so as to facilitate an all-round consideration of problems.

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(1) Akademischer Dienst, 6/V/1976 ; Informationen Bildung Wissenschaft, 25/III/1976.

The committee stresses the need for co-operation between school and working life and proposes the creation of administrative bodies at central, regional and local levels as a means of furthering this objective. Several ways of acquiring vocational training should be open to pupils. For example, their whole training would take place in an enterprise, or the basic one-year course in school could be followed by on-the-job training, or there would be an alternation between school-base and on-the-job training. In this matter the desire of the pupils should be taken into consideration, likewise local working conditions, the specific need of individual subjects, the pattern of study offered by the upper secondary school. The same level of competence should be attained whatever the manner of training adopted.

In view of the rapid evolution in the field of technology, the committee feels that it is necessary to provide adequate facilities for further training. Vocational schools should, in consequence, have their capacity increased and work in close co-operation with institutes of technology, relevant organisations and industry. With this in mind and considering that with vocational training organized in branches teachers will be called upon to teach new developments in a broader context than previously, the committee emphasises the importance of further training for teachers. It suggests that this should be conceived as a career-long process to be conducted in higher vocational schools and in real life working conditions"(1).

In the United States, examples of three different training and manpower are given below :

First, the Job Corps Program , whose objective "...is to provide the disadvantaged in the 16-21 age group with all the services necessary to increase their employability"(2) provides a three month training programme. Following the '74 course, two-thirds of the trainees found jobs and 20% were back in school or in the armed services. (This compares favorably with the 69 figures of 59% and 11% respectively).

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(1) Framtidig yrkesutdanning. Samarbeid mellom skole og arbeidsliv (Norges offentlige utredninger, 1976 : 10).

(2) MAGNUSSEN, Olav, Education and Employment, the Problems of Early School Leavers, European Cultural Foundation, Institute of Education, Paris, 1977, p. 85.

But as in most cases of recurrent education, those people who were in the most need, did not profit from the experience because they would not or could not stay in the training course for the three months (considered the necessary minimum). In the 1974 course, only one half of those recruited, finished the course. For those who did finish the course, the initial earnings were an improvement over past earnings, but this effect did not last more than 12 or 18 months[1].

Second, The Manpower Development and Training Act Institutional Programs "...focus primarily on vocational training in skill centres or on-the-job and have a much less ambitious objective than the Job Corps Program. Here also, the overall benefits of the programme have been reduced by a high drop-out rate among the young enrollees. Of those in the skill-centres, 35% dropped out, while as many as 61% dropped-out from training provided on-the-job. Follow-up studies of these programmes showed that the direct impact on later earnings was slight, but that reduced unemployment and increased labour force participation were major sources of income gains. However, long-term effects are expected to be small, since very few participants move out of the secondary labour market.

The third manpower programme, the Concentrated Employment Program, follows the others in the pattern of its effects. Designed to provide individual services in low income areas, with priority given to youth, and with half of the participants being high-school drop-outs, enrollees increased their earnings considerably during their initial period of work. Two thirds of the enrollees felt they had obtained jobs as a direct result of the services rendered and cost-benefit analysis has indicated that benefits outweighed the cost for the entire programme. Yet in 1974 only 27% of the terminees aged 18 and under, stayed in jobs for as long as ninety days. For many this programme was therefore merely a holding action.

The evidence suggests that the failure to provide lasting jobs was mainly due to a lack of screening or assessment of participants, the philosophy being that everybody in apparent need ought to be served on an equal basis.

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(1) MAGNUSSEN, Olav, op.cit. p. 89.

By contrast, in a similar programme structured along the same line, the Opportunities Industrialization Center Program, great efforts were made to screen people for particular jobs and long-standing contracts with employers were developed. As a result lasting jobs have been secured to a much greater extent"(1).

"Two general lessons seem to emerge from the American experience :

a) Training programmes ought to give more emphasis to schemes which concentrate on providing skills for specific jobs, carefully selected, and assessed in relation to the personal characteristics of the enrollee.

b) Aid to unemployed young people through general programmes is so diluted as to have little effect on the long-term employment prospect of the individual participating. The aim is to reach everyone, with the result that very few are helped. Aid should therefore be restricted to the disadvantaged who would not ordinarily obtain a job in the primary labour market. Broadly based programmes of short duration are of course always needed as much unemployment is short-term by nature, but the American experience suggests that they should be supplemented by individually oriented programmes, where a careful screening related to specific job requirements has taken place"(2).

An example in the United Kingdom can be found in the Industrial Training Act of 1964. The act has three mains objectives :

"a) to increase the amount of training in industry ;

b) to reduce the shortage of skilled workers and to improve the quality and efficiency of training, and

c) to distribute the costs of training more fairly across firms.

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(1) MAGNUSSEN, Olav, op. cit. pp. 87-88.

(2) Ibid, p. 88.

In order to achieve these objectives Industrial Training Boards (ITBs) were organised for each industry. On the one hand, these Boards make a levy on the payroll of each industry through the provision of grants. Prior to the enactment of the 1973 Employment and Training Act, most Boards imposed a levy somewhere between 0.5 and 1.5%. However, that Act now limits the maximum levy to 1% of the payroll.

The Industrial Training Act has come under considerable criticism ; particularly on the grounds that it did not provide additional funds for training, but merely reallocated them ; and did not subject the need for training in various forms to any method of assessment. One consequence of the Act may also have been to subsidize firms to carry out specific training which they would have done profitably in any case. It was also felt that if the motive was to stimulate general training, it might have been better to pay a subsidy to the trainee to compensate him for earnings lost in taking up training, rather than subsidising the employer. The Act was also criticised for being inadequately equipped to deal with the reallocation of labour between industries and regions, as its financial base was from industry alone.

The general picture after some years experience with the Act, is one of an initial marked increase in the volume of training, which gradually fell off. But there does seem also to have been a permanent improvement in the quality of training. It is however difficult to assess the extent to which the Act was responsible for this and on the whole it is probably fair to state that, from the point of view of early school-leavers, it did little to improve the situation. The Training Services Agency sums up its criticism by arguing that the levy /grant system has had only a limited success in persuading employers to finance training on the scale required, but agrees that considerable progress has been made in improving the quality. Unless a new initiative is taken however, the Agency considers that training possibilities for young people are likely to worsen"[1].

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(1) MAGNUSSEN, Olav, op. cit. pp. 88-90.

An example of a policy for educational and employment counselling is found in Denmark where it was proposed, starting in 1977 that "... there should be during each of the three years of upper secondary school the equivalent of one hour per class per week devoted to guidance and counselling...". Previously, upper secondary students were only getting 14 hours in all. This kind of guidance was to be offered in groups but it was also to be offered individually if desired. Counselling would cover such areas as choice of field of study, economic, social and personal problems. Those most in need of guidance and counselling, according to the report are those who enter working life directly after completion of the comprehensive school course (folkeskole), and it is proposed that the guidance service actively seeks out young people in need of advice rather than wait for them to come forward (1).

In Norway, the 1972 Committe on the future of vocational training proposed that "... vocational teachers, together with career guidance counsellors, should give information concerning job opportunities and requirements to pupils in the primary and lower secondary schools. At upper secondary level, pupils should have ready access to vocational information and to the educational alternatives available" (2).

"Gaps in knowledge relevant for policy purposes cannot, however, be remedied merely by better statistical data. There is a need for specific research in certain key areas, which would seem to be :

1) Evaluation of manpower and educational programmes for young people in view of stated objectives of these programmes. In the first place it is essential to know whether the policy effort reaches the target group. Secondly, due to scarce resources, an identification of the groups with particular problems during the period of transition must be undertaken. As mentioned above, many young do not have such problems and , therefore, do not need specific assistance. Thirdly, it is important to at least attempt to evaluate the impact of the respective programmes on later employment prospects and earning, (Needless to say that this is a most difficult task).

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(1) Weekenavisen 14/1/77.

(2) Framtidig yrkesutdanning. Samarbeid mellonskole og arbeidsliv (Norges offentlige utredninger, 1976 : 10).

2) Even if some information is available, more knowledge is required about the characteristics of the jobs early school-leavers obtain. This information should relate in particular to :

- training and employment prospects of these jobs ;
- the possibilities for replacing labour with capital ;
- potential competing groups, e.g. adult women with low skills ;
- the impact of labour legislation on job opportunities and job characteristics.

3) The processes in school and society which lead to educational alienation and insufficient preparation for working life are not adequately understood. In particular there is a need to design educational methods combining schooling and work experience. Such methods should at the same time satisfy the needs of the majority of young who continue their schooling, and the needs of the important minority of early school-leavers whose requirements seem, in the present situation, to be largely neglected"[1].

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(1) MAGNUSSEN, Olav, op. cit. p. 105.

ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

by Denis KALLEN

In many countries of the region adult education has a long tradition and it provides a great variety of coursesin many locations. Lifelong education on the other hand, is a new concept that has only appeared on the scene since the late sixties. The concept has been formulated under different names (lifelong education for Unesco, "éducation permanente" for the Council of Europe, recurrent education for the OECD) and in different connotations but the essential thrust of their various proposals is the same : spreading educational opportunities over the whole lifetime of the individual in close co-ordination, or even in alternation with work, leisure or retirement.

The novelty of these ideas compared to the much older concept of adult education is that it encompasses the totality of educational experience and of educational opportunity. It does so first of all in what one could call the "vertical" way ; it is a policy concept (or, as the OECD report on recurrent education calls it : an organisational principle) that refers to all of education, from pre-school to adult education. It is, however, recognised that the lifelong, permanent or recurrent part in the proper sense only starts after the completion of compulsory schooling. Nevertheless there are important policy implications for the compulsory school and, more generally, for all levels of formal education. Secondly, these policy concepts are comprehensive in a "horizontal" way : they encompass all patterns of education, from traditional to non-traditional and from formal to non-formal, full- and part-time, day and evening, direct-contact and distance education. In this respect they owe much to adult education with its traditional broad range of learning opportunities and its stress on non-traditional patterns of education.

In several other ways the adult education sector disposes of experience and of assets with which lifelong education can do its advantage. Adult education has for a long time depended upon voluntary initiative and has had to live

with none or very meager public support. This explains its great diversity in programmes and approaches. It also explains to some extent the absence of common patterns of adult education programmes between countries in the region. Adult education has emerged in response to concrete needs rather than as the result of rational planning. It has successfully adapted its programmes to the ever-changing nature of these needs. As a result, there is no "system" of adult education, nor a "policy" in the proper sense of the word.

The different functions of adult education - providing opportunities for intellectual and cultural development, providing courses in citizenship, and in political education, leisure-time education, parents' education, occupationally related couses - in the various countries of the region have been developed in greatly varying intensity. On the whole, occupationally related courses used to be given a very low priority. Thus e.g. the "Volkshochschulen" in the Federal Republic and Austria, in the Scandinavian countries and in the Netherlands did generally not provide vocational courses.

In the recent past, however, vocational education and also degree or certificate courses have increasingly found their way into adult education. This is partly due to the fact that the borderline between general and vocational education has become increasingly blurred. Parlty this is also due to the concern to use the available material and human resources as fully as possible.

The emergence of the comprehensive policy concepts of lifelong, permanent and recurrent education offered to adult education the opportunity of exchanging its traditional marginal position on the educational scene for a more central rôle. In fact however, this challenge has often not been taken up or, where it has been responded to, this has been done in several important respects reluctantly and with many reservations. The above new concepts were alien and threatening to the established adult education traditions of voluntarism, strong local attachment, de-centralisation and diversity. For what concerns recurrent education they were also too closely

connected with the formal education system and with economic and labour market concerns. Strong fears existed in many countries that alignment on these new lifelong education ideas would imply a loss of identity and independence, and in the end lead to abandonment of precisely those ideals and values that represented the pride of adult education.

Nevertheless, attempts have been made here and there to define an overall educational policy in which adult education is assigned a key rôle. The Scandinavian countries have probably in this respect made most progress. In the Federal Republic of Germany, recent legislation of several Länder on "Weiterbildung" outlines a clear policy for adult education in the framework of a comprehensive educational and social policy concept.

In the United Kingdom, the Russell Report of 1973 represents a landmark in defining a policy for adult education in which all existing patterns and programmes are given a place. In spite of the fact that the report never received official government blessing, several of its most important recommendations have in fact been implemented. Thus regional advisory councils for further education have, as recommended, set up sub-committees for adult education, many local education authorities have adopted a coherent support policy to local voluntary bodies in the adult education sector, area organisations for adult education have been established within local education authorities and, finally, in 1977 a National Development Council for Adult and Continuing Education has been established.

Also in other countries of the region national commissions have been set up in order to make proposals for a policy for adult education. Thus in Ireland a Committee has been established in 1969 to report on the needs of the community in the matter of adult education. Its Final Report, published in December 1973, recommends, inter-alia the establishment in each area of local administration of a statutory body with responsibility for the development of all sections of education including adult education, the establishment of Regional Education Committees to administer the provision of non-university third-level education services, the creation of Departments of Adult Education

and Community Development in third-level institutions and the extension of Radio and Television Services in Adult Education.

In the Federal Republic, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Scotland, national committees are elaborating or have been elaborating proposals for adult or recurrent education.

In several of these countries adult education is in a more explicit way than in the United Kingdom being given a place in a comprehensive policy for lifelong, permanent or recurrent education. Perhaps most clearly this is the case in Sweden. The U'68 proposals, now being implemented, have outlined a comprehensive policy for post-compulsory education in which the existing adult education provisions that had been built up in the past, in particular that of the study circles, makes adult education into an eminently efficient instrument for implementing the recurrent education policy measures recommended by the U'68 Committee. Essential elements of these recommendations were to promote the alternation between work and study and to offer generous possibilities for short educational courses everywhere in the country. In the same vein, university education is being decentralised and university-level education is now available at many locations in Sweden. Moreover, the barriers between university and adult education are progressively being broken down. The new admissions policy to higher education, known as the 25 plus 4 scheme[1], is a key element in the latter policy.

The coordination , and even the integration of the school and university system with adult education is actively pursued in some countries of the region. The Scandinavian countries are most explicit as to this. Sweden has not doubt made most progress towards achieving this aim. But also in Finland the possibility of integrating activities of the school system and adult education as well as the possibility for educational institutions to participate in the further education of adults are being considered[2].

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(1) Adults of at least 25 years of age without a secondary school leaving certificate are admitted to higher education provided they have 4 years of working experience.

(2) See : Recurrent Education in the Nordic Countries. The Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen, NU series no. B 1977 : 18 E.

In Denmark a bill submitted to Parliament in 1975/76 recommends recurrent education as one of the leading fundamental principles. One of the comments about the bill says : "The 10th-12th educational years ought to be an open system allowing students to leave and re-enter. This flexibility of the system should also be available to adults, especially to those who only have had seven or possibly nine years of elementary education. To minimize the differences in the educational levels of youth and adults, education should gradually become available to adults, corresponding to the 10th-12th school years, but with special consideration for the special conditions and requirements of adults."(1).

In Norway the schools for 16-19 year olds will also be open to adult students. "This will provide realistic opportunities for recurrent education both for those who have not had education beyond comprehensive school and for those who want to study further after having passed one or two years in a school of further education". (ibidem, p. 11). Thus future study possibilities for adults in the Scandinavian countries will exploit both the existing facilties in adult education and those of the formal school system.

This integration of all educational facilities into one comprehensive policy, encompassing youth and adult education, formal and non-formal, traditional and non-traditional, is one of the vital aspect of the concepts of recurrent, permanent and lifelong education. It is advocated more strongly and more convicingly in recurrent education than in the other two concepts. This may also explain, why, on the whole, adult education representatives have been rather hostile to recurrent education, as they feared that the major assets of adult education would get lost if it were too closely coordinated with the educational system. It is also the part of lifelong, permanent or recurrent education policies on which least agreement exists between countries' actual policies. In countries such as France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium, policy discussions hardly make any mention of this coordination. Nevertheless, the coming enrolment crisis may well force the educational institutions to take more seriously the challenge that opportunities for adult learning represents. Thus, for example, in the United Kingdom the government

(1) See : Recurrent Education in the Nordic Countries, p. 10.

has not yet decided in favour of expanding higher education in order to meet the peak in enrolments that can be expected in the next few years, approximately until 1985. The new places that would have to be created in order to cope with the increased short-term demand, could later serve to offer opportunities to "recurring" adults.

In the Netherlands, a spontaneous movement has in the past few years made government and general public alike aware of the need to reconsider the mandate of secondary education in favour of opportunities for learning for "recurring" adults. Thousands of mothers of school-going children have requested - and obtained - that they too can attend the programmes that their children are attending. By now, close to 50.000 women are enrolled in so-called "mother-MAVO's", using the facilities, and for a great deal also the teachers, of the MAVO-schools (general secondary schools of the non-academic type).

Remarkable also is the evolution of the so-called 150-hours agreement in Italy ; first in the metallurgic sector, soon also in the chemical and textile industry and in parts of the service sector, workers obtained the right to 150 hours of paid educational leave for general studies, provided they added 150 hours of their own time. Large numbers of adult workers enrolled in middle school courses in 1971, over 250.000, in 1977, over 600.000. Success rates were consistently very high : between 98 and 99 per cent obtained the middle school certificate. The most remarkable feature, apart from the fact that educational leave can be used for non-vocational education, is that courses are given in the ordinary middle schools and by the ordinary middle school teachers, thus providing a unique opportunity for the teachers to become familiar with adults' learning needs and with the special conditions that facilitate or hamper their study. Short of the integration between youth and adult students that is envisaged in several of the Scandinavian countries, this is, as is the above-mentioned Dutch example an important step towards widening the mandate of the schools to the benefit of the entire community.

Another essential aspect of lifelong, permanent and recurrent education policies on which considerable progress has been made in the region is that of paid educational leave[1]. The 1971 French law on "Formation Continue" has by now reached its cruising speed. Contrary to Italy, almost the entire effort concerns professional training. In the seven years since its adoption, the scheme has continuously expanded. It now concerns close to ten per cent of all adult workers every year, enrolled in courses that vary in length from some 50 to about 200 hours. In the course of the years, the participation of highly qualified personnel has proportionally decreased and that of less qualified workers increased. Large enterprises offer on the whole more facilities and enlist higher participation rates than smaller ones. Thus the scheme still profits much more to those who are already privileged in terms of educational and professional level - and, of course, in terms of income - than to the less privileged workers. Nevertheless, its introduction has been a strong incentive for industries, trade unions and educational institutions to enlarge the educational opportunities for adults. the weakest aspect, apart from its social bias, its relatively minor impact on the formal education system. Apart from a few exceptions, it has not affected the universities and even less the secondary school system.

Other countries in which the educational leave issue has made considerable progress and in which educational leave schemes have been adopted or are being prepared are Belgium, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic. It is also the object of lively discussions in Austria and Switzerland. The Scandinavian countries are also here, as in general in matters of lifelong education policy, the forerunners in Europe. The educational leave issue has perhaps lost some of its actuality as a result of the economic crisis. But on the other hand the crisis has stimulated thinking about its objectives : more and more they are being enlarged to include not just vocational re-training, but general education and personality development as well. Thus a bridge is being built between in-service training and vocational training on the one hand and general cultural and individual development on the other. And parallel to this, the dividing lines between the various sectors of

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(1) See for an analysis of educational leave policies ; Konrad VON MOLTKE and Norbert SCHNEEVOIGT ; Educational Leaves for Employees. European Experience for American Consideration. San Francisco, London, Jossey Bass, 1977.

education that were an obstacle to a comprehensive policy for lifelong education policies become more and more blurred.

Another dimension in which the evolution of ideas and of policies in the field of lifelong education have opened very promising perspectives is that of making education into an effective instrument for overall community, local and regional development. In most countries of the region, the educational system had become more and more geared to satisfying national needs, but had at the same time become more and more estranged from the community. It has already been said above, that adult education had precisely derived its pride and its success from its ability to satisfy the immediate needs of the population and to devise flexible programmes that served the needs of the local community. In several countries of the region, lifelong, permanent and recurrent education policies are now gradually integrating this function. This is particularly true for Sweden, Norway, the Federal Republic and the Netherlands. But also in France, the developments in this area of "éducation permanente" become increasingly geared to the development of the regions.

Thus lifelong education is entrusted with a multiplicity of objectives that pertain to a variety of policy sectors. It has until now very partially been implemented and as a consequence only very partially met the high expectations that had been set on it. The concept has been interpreted in many different manners, some of which are certainly not compatible with the original concept.

Nevertheless, it has proven to be a valuable paradigm for a new direction in educational policies that was badly needed after the post-war reconstruction of educational systems had been completed and once the euphoria of the expansion boom of the 1960's had worn out.